

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4950

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0335

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS DAR, ZAMZIBAR FOR AMB YOUNG AND LONDON

DEPT MAY ALSO WISH TO PASS TO PRETORIA, CAPE TOWN, MAPUTO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, ZA, RH
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH CHONA ON CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING
NEGOTIATIONS

SUMMARY: DURING LENGTHY LATE THURSDAY EVENING CONVERSATION, CHONA HANDED ME TWO LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE AND AMBASSADOR KASANDA GAVE ME A THIRD FRIDAY MORNING. CHONA DESCRIBED FRONTLINE AND PATRIOTIC FRONT ANGER AT RICHARD AND WENT ON TO DISCUSS CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE BELIEVED THE PF WOULD AGREE TO RETURN TO A RECONSTITUTED GENEVA CONFERENCE. OTHER THAN REPLACING RICHARD AS CHAIRMAN THE CONDITIONS RESULT IN A STRENGTHENING OF PF POWER AND CONTROL AND BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE RHODESIANS TO ACCEPT THAN THE INITIAL BRITISH PROPOSAL. CHONA GAVE NO INDICATION THAT THE FRONTLINE WAS WILLING TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON NATIONALISTS TO MODERATE THEIR DEMANDS IN ORDER TO DEVELOP A PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES. THE ZAMBIANS APPEAR DETERMINED TO FOLLOW A TWO-PRONGED POLICY OF SEEKING SOCIALIST HELP FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND WESTERN ASSISTANCE IN A NEGOTIATING EFFORT BOTH DESIGNED TO BRING PRESSURE ON SMITH AND ENABLE THE

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PF TO TAKE POWER IN RHODESIA. END SUMMARY.

1. MARK CHONA ASKED ME TO COME TO HIS HOUSE LATE THURSDAY EVENING AND WE TALKED FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS. DURING THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION TWO LETTERS WERE DELIVERED TO THE HOUSE WHICH HE GAVE ME: FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE. A THIRD LETTER WHICH SETS OUT THE ZAMBIAN

POSITION IN GREATER DETAIL ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT CARTER WAS DELIVERED ON FRIDAY MORNING.

2. CHONA BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HIS PLEASURE AND SATISFACTION OVER HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON. HIS PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO ASSURE HIMSELF THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO PRESERVE AND MOVE FORWARD FROM THE KISSINGER POSITION AS STATED IN THE APRIL LUSAKA SPEECH. HE CAME AWAY CONVINCED THAT THIS WAS INDEED ITS INTENTION.

3. CHONA THANKED ME FOR SENDING HIM AND THE PRESIDENT THE ADVANCE TEXT OF SECRETARY VANCE'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT ON RHODESIA. HE ASKED TO BE SURE THAT IT WAS ALSO SENT TO MAPUTO AND DAR AND SAID HE THOUGHT IT WAS A MOST HELPFUL STATEMENT -- AS THE PRESIDENT SAYS IN HIS LETTER.

4. CHONA THEN TURNED TO THE RECENT DISPUTE WITH RICHARD. HE SAID HE HAD WANTED TO TALK TO ME TUESDAY FOLLOWING PRES KAUNDA'S MEETING WITH RICHARD BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO. RICHARD, HE SAID, HAD MADE EVERYONE ANGRY. HIS FIRST MISTAKE WAS HIS FAILURE ON JAN 10 TO PRESENT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WITH A WRITTEN STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH PROPOSAL (THOUGH HE ADMITTED HE HAS SUBSEQUENTLY LEARNED THAT IT WAS NOT RICHARD'S FAULT BUT A POSITION TAKEN BY THE BRITISH CABINET). RICHARD COMPOUNDED THE ERROR BY INSISTING THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT GIVE HIM A REPLY ON THE SPOT. THIS IS WHAT LED IT TO GO BACK TO ITS INSISTENCE ON ITS ORIGINAL PROPOSALS GIVEN HIM IN GENEVA. AS FAR AS THE DISCUSSION ON JAN 31 WAS CONCERNED, THE THING THAT HAD SET PRES KAUNDA OFF WAS RICHARD'S CONTENTION THAT HE HAD NOT ANNOUNCED
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THE END OF THE GENEVA DISCUSSION BY HIS STATEMENT IN SALISBURY. HIS GREATEST ERROR, HOWEVER, WAS THE UNILATERAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE SAW NO POINT IN RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. ACCORDING TO CHONA, THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE ENTIRELY RICHARD'S FAULT, THE FACT IS HE HAS THOROUGHLY ANTAGONIZED EVERYONE.

5. CHONA THEN TURNED THE REST OF THE CONVERSATION TO THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE SAID HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH LED HIM TO BELIEVE IT WOULD TAKE ABOUT A MONTH TO PREPARE FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. PRES KAUNDA COULD NOT ASK THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO GO BACK TO GENEVA WITHOUT MORE ASSURANCES THAN THEY HAD BEFORE. IN THE FIRST PLACE, IT WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT RICHARD WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO CHAIR THE CONFERENCE. HE WOULD HAVE TO BE REPLACED BY SOMEONE OF MINISTERIAL LEVEL, PRESUMABLY CROSLAND. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD RESERVED ITS POSITION BEFORE ON THIS POINT BUT IT WAS NOT PREPARED TO DO SO AGAIN. BRITAIN HAD NOW COMMITTED ITSELF TO PLAY A ROLE IN RHODESIA AND A MERE AMBASSADOR WAS NO LONGER ADEQUATE TO COMMIT IT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD.

THE U.S. MUST ALSO TAKE A MORE PROMINENT PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY WERE TOO IMPORTANT TO ENTRUST TO A NATION WHICH CHANGED ITS POSITION SO FREQUENTLY AND FEARED TO SEND ITS MINISTERS OUT OF THE COUNTRY BECAUSE ITS MAJORITY WAS NOT STRONG ENOUGH IN PARLIAMENT. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE CARRIED ON WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THERE MAY STILL BE A ROLE FOR MUZOREWA BUT THERE CERTAINLY WASN'T ONE FOR SITHOLE. ONE COULD NOT TAKE THE LATTER SERIOUSLY ANY MORE WHEN HE HAD NO PLACE TO GO. HE COULDN'T RETURN TO RHODESIA, ZAMBIA, OR MOZAMBIQUE. NEXT CHONA FELT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS SHOULD BE REDRAFTED. THEY WERE PUT TOGETHER HURRIEDLY AND HAD MUCH THAT WAS LOOSELY DRAFTED OR UNCLEAR. IN PARTICULAR, HE FELT THAT THE

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0335

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ORGANIZATION OF NATIONALIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE NATIONALISTS. THEY WILL DECIDE WHO IS TO BE PRIME MINISTER AND HOW TO DIVIDE UP THE 20 MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ASSIGNED TO THEM. IT WAS NOT UP TO THE BRITISH TO ALLOCATE THIS MEMBERSHIP AMONG THE NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS. THESE CONDITIONS WILL BE SPELLED OUT IN SOME DETAIL IN PRES KAUNDA'S LETTER. AFTER A FIRM UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA WITH THE NATIONALISTS IT WOULD THEN BE PRESENTED TO SMITH OR VORSTER ON A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT BASIS.

4. I ASKED CHONA HOW HE THOUGH WE COULD GET RHODESIAN ACCEPTANCE OF THESE PROPOSALS WHEN THEY HAD ALREADY REJECTED OUT OF HAND A MUCH MORE SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW. HE UNDERSTOOD THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SITUATION BETTER THAN I AND SURELY KNEW THAT THE FRONTLINE'S EXCLUSIVE RECOGNITION OF THE PF COMPLICATED THE SITUATION IN TERMS OF GETTING SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT. CHONA SAID THAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD TOLD

HIM THAT IF THE U.S. AND BRITIAN WERE REALLY WORRIED ABOUT
MARXIST INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ALL THEY HAD TO DO TO
STOP IT WAS GET RID OF SMITH. HE ADDED THAT HE COULDN'T
UNDERSTAND THE SOUTH AFRICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD MUGABE. THE
U.S. WOULD HAVE TO HELP CONVINCE THEM THAT HE WAS NOT A MARXIST.
I SAID THAT MUGABE HAD NOT HELPED US MUCH WITH THIS TASK IN
THE STATEMENTS HE HAS BEEN MAKING. CHONA REPLIED THAT HE HAD
TAKEN THESE KINDS OF POSITIONS IN ORDER NOT TO BE OUTFLANKED
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BY SITHOLE. I SAID SITHOLE'S STATEMENTS HAD NOT BEEN OF SUCH
A RADICAL NATURE. IN ANY CASE, CHONA SAID, THE U.S. WOULD HAVE
TO EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO SMITH AND VORSTER AND IF THEY WOULD NOT
ACCEPT IT THEN THE U.S. ANSWER WAS SIMPLE -- AN OIL EMBARGO.
THAT WOULD BRING THEM AROUND QUICKLY. I SAID THIS WAS A COMPLICATED
SUBJECT WHICH PRESENTED US WITH MANY DIFFICULT LEGAL PROBLEMS.
I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ACCUSATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE ARE UNDER
INVESTIGATION.

5. CHONA AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING
AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN DAR WHICH THEY PRESUME WILL BE SATURDAY
MORNING. THEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY TAKE A LINE SIMILAR TO THE ONE
ABOVE AND CONTAINED IN THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

COMMENT: I FOUND THE DISCUSSION VERY DISCOURAGING.
CHONA AND PRES KAUNDA HAVE APPARENTLY PROFITED NOT AT
ALL FROM THE GENEVA FAILURE TO WHICH THEY CONTRIBUTED
BY NOT PRESSING THE NATIONALISTS TO ADOPT MORE MODERATE
POSITIONS. THE TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY WHICH THEY ARE DEVELOPING
IS FAIRLY EVIDENT. THEY WILL USE THE SOVIETS AND SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES TO HELP THEM BRING PRESSURE ON SMITH THROUGH THE ARMS
STRUGGLE AND THE U.S., BRITAIN, AND THE WEST TO BRING PRESSURE
ON SMITH THROUGH NEGOTIATING PATH AT GENEVA. THE WESTERN DESIRE
FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND PARTICULARLY
COMPETITION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST FOR INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA WILL LEAD THE TWO SIDES TO TRY TO OUT DO EACH OTHER
IN BRINGING PRESSURE ON SMITH. ZAMBIA AND THE FRONTLINE NEED
ONLY STAND ASIDE AND WAIT FOR SMITH'S FALL. THE ONLY PRESSURE
WHICH THE FRONTLINE IS PREPARED TO BRING IS TO KEEP THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT TOGETHER AND MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE IN A SUBSIDIARY ROLE.
IN THESE TWO EFFORTS THEY ARE WILLING TO BE FIRM. IT ALSO APPEARS
THAT, AS NKOMO TOLD AN ACQUAINTANCE YESTERDAY, (LUSAKA 0330),
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (AND THE FRONTLINE) IS NOW SEEKING A
SOLUTION WHICH ASSURES ITS POWER AND CONTROL -- AS WAS THE CASE
WITH FRELIMO IN MOZAMBIQUE.

SO FAR AS ZAMBIA IS CONCERNED, NKOMO'S LEADING POSITION

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APPEARS TO BE ENOUGH TO ASSURE IT THAT ITS INTERESTS WILL BE
PROTECTED. IT WILL USE WHAT IT PERCEIVES TO BE THE U.S. DESIRE
FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO KEEP THE SOVIETS OUT, AND OBTAIN
ITS OWN GOALS IN ZIMBABWE. LOW

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